

Message Text

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SUBJECT: PRESS REPORTS OF STATEMENTS BY SENATORS CRANSTON
AND GOLDWATER
REF: BRASILIA 184

1. FOR EMBASSY'S BACKGROUND ON PRESS STORIES(REFTEL),
TEXTS OF PERTINENT PASSAGES OF STATEMENTS MADE BY SENATORS
CRANSTON AND GOLDWATER ARE QUOTED BELOW; FULL COPIES
THIS PORTION OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD ARE BEING POUCHED.

2. CRANSTON STATEMENT: BEGIN QUOTE. MR. PRESIDENT,
ONE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT MATTERS WE MUST DEAL WITH IN
THIS CONGRESS IS NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION. OVER THE PAST
SEVERAL WEEKS THERE HAVE BEEN SOME HOPEFUL SIGNS THAT

THE INDUSTRIAL NATIONS OF THE WORLD ARE FINALLY AWAKENING
TO THE DANGER OF THE RAPID SPREAD OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS THAT
IS INHERENT IN THEIR PEACEFUL NUCLEAR EXPORT PROGRAMS.

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FOLLOWING ON THE HEELS OF STRONG STATEMENTS BY PRESIDENT-
ELECT CARTER AND PRESIDENT FORD ON THE NEED TO CURB THE
SPREAD OF SENSITIVE NUCLEAR EQUIPMENT AND MATERIAL, THE
FRENCH, WEST GERMANS, RUSSIANS AND THE CANADIANS EACH HAVE
ANNOUNCED NEW POLICIES THAT HOLD THE FIRST REAL PROMISE
OF EFFECTIVE PROLIFERATION CONTROL. (PARAGRAPHS DESCRIBING
PRESIDENT FORD'S OCTOBER 28 STATEMENT AND SPELLING OUT
DANGERS OF SEPARATED PLUTONIUM OMITTED.)
ON DECEMBER 16, THE FRENCH RESPONDED TO APPARENT US
PRESSURE BY ANNOUNCING THAT AS A MATTER OF POLICY THEY

WILL NOT ENTER INTO ANY NEW AGREEMENTS TO EXPORT REPROCESSING PLANTS. HOWEVER, FRANCE REFUSED TO RENEGE ON A COMMITMENT TO SELL SUCH A PLANT TO PAKISTAN, ALTHOUGH A HIGH FRENCH OFFICIAL IS QUOTED AS STATING PRIVATELY THAT "FRANCE WOULD NOW BE ONLY TOO HAPPY IF THE PAKISTANIS DECIDED TO CALL THE DEAL OFF." A PAKISTANI CANCELLATION NOW SEEMS LIKELY, BUT UNDER THE DUBIOUS INCENTIVE OF A U.S. OFFER TO SELL PAKISTAN 100 A-7 FIGHTER-BOMBERS.

I ASK UNANIMOUS CONSENT THAT TWO ARTICLES DESCRIBING THE FRENCH POLICY DECISION...BE PRINTED IN THE RECORD....

MR. PRESIDENT, LESS THAN A WEEK AFTER THE FRENCH ANNOUNCEMENT, WEST GERMANY FOLLOWED SUIT WITH A STATEMENT BY THE FOREIGN MINISTRY BARRING FUTURE EXPORTS OF NUCLEAR TECHNOLOGY THAT CAN BE USED FOR WEAPONS PRODUCTION. BUT ALSO FOLLOWING THE FRENCH EXAMPLE, THE GERMANS REFUSED TO CANCEL A CONTRACT TO EXPORT PLUTONIUM REPROCESSING AND URANIUM ENRICHMENT PLANTS TO BRAZIL. IT HAS BEEN REPORTED, HOWEVER, THAT CHANCELLOR SCHMIDT IS TRYING TO FIND A GRACEFUL WAY FOR BRAZIL (SIC) TO CANCEL AT LEAST THE REPROCESSING PLANT. THE UNITED STATES IS UNDERSTOOD TO BE PRESSURING BRAZIL AS WELL, AND I HOPE VERY MUCH THAT WE WILL BE SUCCESSFUL.

I ASK UNANIMOUS CONSENT THAT AN ARTICLE DESCRIBING THE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
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GERMAN DECISION, "BONN INDICATES IT WILL CURTAIL NUCLEAR EXPORTS," FROM THE WASHINGTON POST OF DECEMBER 11, BE PRINTED IN THE RECORD...AS WELL AS A DECEMBER 23 WASHINGTON POST EDITORIAL "ACTION AGAINST NUCLEAR SPREAD."....

MR. PRESIDENT, THE MOST STRINGENT NUCLEAR-EXPORT CONTROLS OF ALL WERE ANNOUNCED DECEMBER 22 BY THE CANADIAN GOVERNMENT. CANADA ANNOUNCED THAT, EFFECTIVE IMMEDIATELY, IT WOULD NOT EXPORT ANY NUCLEAR EQUIPMENT OR MATERIAL TO ANY NATION THAT HAS NOT RATIFIED THE NUCLEAR NON-PROLIFERATION TREATY - NPT - OR ALTERNATIVELY, HAS AGREED TO PLACE ALL OF ITS COMMERCIAL NUCLEAR ACTIVITIES UNDER SAFEGUARDS OF THE INTERNATIONAL ATOMIC ENERGY AGENCY - IAEA. CANADA SAID IT WENT AHEAD WITH THIS POLICY ON ITS OWN AFTER IT BECAME CLEAR THAT OTHER SUPPLIERS WOULD NOT AGREE TO ADOPT IT AS A COMMON POLICY AT THE SUPPLIERS CONFERENCE IN LONDON. I ASK UNANIMOUS CONSENT THAT AN ARTICLE DESCRIBING THE CANADIAN ACTION...BE PRINTED IN THE RECORD....

MR. PRESIDENT, THE CANADIAN POLICY SHOULD BE ADOPTED BY THE UNITED STATES AND THE OTHER SUPPLIERS BECAUSE IT WOULD BAR ANY NATION FROM UTILIZING PEACEFUL NUCLEAR ASSISTANCE IN UNSAFEGUARDED FACILITIES TO MAKE NUCLEAR WEAPONS. THE

CANADIAN POLICY INCLUDES A COMMITMENT TO CUT OFF NUCLEAR ASSISTANCE TO ANY NONNUCLEAR WEAPONS STATE THAT SETS OFF A NUCLEAR EXPLOSION -- A STEP CANADA TOOK REGARDING INDIA AFTER INDIA'S NUCLEAR TEST OF 1974. REGRETABLELY, THE UNITED STATES DID NOT FOLLOW SUIT EVEN THOUGH INDIA USED OUR HEAVY WATER AS WELL AS A CANADIAN REACTOR IN PRODUCING THE PLUTONIUM FOR ITS EXPLOSION.

PRESIDENT-ELECT CARTER, SOON AFTER HE TAKES OFFICE, WOULD BE WISE TO CONSULT WITH THE CANADIANS AND THE OTHER SUPPLIERS IN AN EFFORT TO ESTABLISH A COMMON POLICY THAT FOLLOWS THE CANADIAN GUIDELINES. BUT THE UNITED STATES SHOULD BE PREPARED TO ADOPT SUCH STRICT POLICY UNILATERAL LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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ALLY, IF NECESSARY.

THERE MAY BE AN OPPORTUNITY TO REACH A STRONG SUPPLIERS AGREEMENT IN LIGHT OF A RECENT PROPOSAL BY THE SOVIET UNION AT THE SUPPLIERS CONFERENCE. THE RUSSIANS PROPOSED THAT ALL NUCLEAR EXPORTS BE CONDITIONED ON AN AGREEMENT BY CUSTOMER COUNTRIES TO PLACE ALL OF THEIR NUCLEAR ACTIVITIES UNDER IAEA SAFEGUARDS. UNFORTUNATELY, THE RUSSIANS HAVE UNDERMINED THEIR OWN POLICY INITIATIVE BY AGREEING TO EXPORT HEAVY WATER TO INDIA WHICH OPERATES UNSAFEGUARDED NUCLEAR FACILITIES, FOLLOWING A CANADIAN CUTOFF OF HEAVY WATER PROMPTED BY THE INDIAN NUCLEAR TEST. HOPEFULLY, THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA CAN PERSUADE THE SOVIET UNION TO DELAY THE HEAVY WATER EXPORT IN AN EFFORT TO WIN GREATER COOPERATION FROM THE INDIANS.

I ASK UNANIMOUS CONSENT THAT TWO ARTICLES DEALING WITH THE SOVIET ACTIONS...BE PRINTED IN THE RECORD....

MR. PRESIDENT, SOME OF THESE LATEST DEVELOPMENTS PROVIDE HOPEFUL SIGNS THAT STRICTER CONTROLS WILL BE PLACED ON WORLDWIDE NUCLEAR DEVELOPMENT, BUT MUCH REMAINS TO BE DONE, PARTICULARLY WITH RESPECT TO SPENT FUEL AND THE PLUTONIUM IT CONTAINS. I BELIEVE OUR NEW PRESIDENT WILL MOVE QUICKLY AND FORCEFULLY IN THIS CRITICAL AREA. END QUOTE.

3. GOLDWATER STATEMENT: BEGIN QUOTE. MR. PRESIDENT, WE HEAR A LOT OF DISCUSSION THESE DAYS ABOUT FUTURE U.S. DEFENSE NEEDS. ONE OF THE FACTORS FUELING THIS DEBATE IS PRESIDENT-ELECT CARTER'S CONTENTION THAT HE CAN CUT \$5 TO 7 BILLION FROM THE PENTAGON BUDGET AT A TIME WHEN THE SOVIET ARMS PROGRAM IS REACHING A NEW AND DANGEROUS PEAK.

THIS IS SHAPING UP TODAY AS ONE OF THE GREATEST ISSUES OF OUR TIME. INDEED THE SECURITY OF THE UNITED STATES AS

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WELL AS THAT OF THE ENTIRE FREE WORLD MAY WELL BE AT
STAKE. RECENTLY THE OFFICIALS OF THE ASSOCIATION OF
THE UNITED STATES ARMY PREPARED AN EXCELLENT PAPER ON
THE SUBJECT OF U.S. DEFENSE NEEDS. BECAUSE OF ITS
EXTREME IMPORTANCE I ASK THAT IT BE PRINTED IN THE RECORD.
END QUOTE.

4. STUDY ENTERED INTO RECORD BY SENATOR GOLDWATER IS
OVERALL REVIEW OF PROBLEM AREAS IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
WHICH HAVE IMPLICATIONS FOR U.S. SECURITY. IT DOES NOT
DIRECTLY LINK POPULATION QUESTION WITH NUCLEAR PROLIFERAT-
ION PROBLEM, AND DOES NOT SPECIFICALLY MENTION BRAZIL IN
DISCUSSING GROWTH OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS CAPABILITY. INTRO-
DUCTORY PORTIONS TO SHOW OVERALL CONTEXT, AND PARAGRAPHS
DEALING WITH BRAZIL ARE QUOTED BELOW. REMAINDER OF PAPER
CONTAINS MANY PARAGRAPHS DEVELOPING THEMES SUCH AS CON-
TINUED THREAT POSED BY EAST-WEST RIVALRIES AND COMMUNIST
IDEOLOGY, INSTABILITY OF MANY NATIONAL GOVERNMENTS, US
INTEREST IN PRESERVING NATO, DANGEROUS SITUATIONS IN
MID EAST AND AFRICA, DIMINISHING US MILITARY PROFILE IN
FAR EAST. ETC.

BEGIN QUOTE: US DEFENSE NEEDS - A LOOK AHEAD.

... THE ELECTION IS OVER...PROMISES OF EXPANDED SOCIAL
PROGRAMS, REDUCED UNEMPLOYMENT AND... BALANCED BUDGET,
MUST NOW BE CONSIDERED IN THE HARSH LIGHT OF PRACTICAL
POLITICS AND ECONOMICS. TWO OF THE FACTORS THAT MUST
ENTER INTO THAT CONSIDERATION ARE FOREIGN POLICY AND
NATIONAL DEFENSE, BOTH OF WHICH HAVE VERY LIMITED FIELDS
OF MANEUVER...THE PROBLEMS WHICH IMPACT MOST HEAVILY ON
BOTH FOREIGN POLICY AND NATIONAL SECURITY ARE EXTERNALLY
CREATED AND BEYOND OUR EASY CONTROL.... OVERPOPULATION,
A WORLDWIDE SHORTAGE OF FOODSTUFFS, DWINDLING ENERGY
RESOURCES, THE EXPLOITATION OF RESOURCES FROM THE SEAS,
AND NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION ALL MAKE FOR A FULL CHECKLIST OF
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PROBLEMS THAT CONTRIBUTE DIRECTLY TO GLOBAL TENSIONS
AND UNREST. ADD TO THOSE THE BURGEONING DISCONTENT
IN MANY OF THE EMERGING NATIONS, THE FLAMING HATREDS OF
CENTURIES-OLD PROTAGONISTS IN THE MID-EAST, RACISM IN
AFRICA, THE REMAINING VESTIGES OF COLONIALISM THROUGH
PARTS OF THE WORLD, AND IT BECOMES READILY APPARENT
WHY WE CANNOT CALL THE TUNE ON WHAT WE REQUIRE
DIPLOMATICALLY AND DEFENSIVELY TO PROTECT OUR VERY VITAL

NATIONAL INTERESTS.

SO THAT WE MIGHT MAINTAIN A CLEAR PERSPECTIVE AS WE ADDRESS THE BROAD SPECTRUM OF ISSUES CONFRONTING US, IT IS USEFUL TO REVIEW SOME OF OUR BASIC FOREIGN POLICY (AND ?) DEFENSE REQUIREMENTS...WHAT ARE THE STRESSES AND STRAINS FROM OUTSIDE OUR SHORES WHICH WE CANNOT ESCAPE?... THE PHILOSOPHY OF COMMUNISM PROSPERS IN A CLIMATE OF WANT AND UNREST -- AND THERE ARE TOO MANY FERTILE FIELDS IN MUCH OF THE WORLD TODAY THAT PROVIDE THESE INGREDIENTS. BURGEONING POPULATION GROWTH IS OUTSTRIPPING OUR ABILITY TO PROVIDE FOODSTUFFS NEEDED TO SUSTAIN LIFE IN MUCH OF THE WORLD...WORLDWIDE EFFORTS TO CORRECT THIS TRAGIC SITUATION REQUIRE STABILITY, PEACE AND COOPERATION TO A DEGREE THE WORLD HAS YET TO ATTAIN.

IN HIS NEW BOOK "PRECARIOUS SECURITY" GENERAL MAXWELL D. TAYLOR SPOTLIGHTS THE PROBLEM. "...BY THE END OF THE CENTURY, IN SOUTH ASIA, WHERE STARVATION IS FREQUENT TODAY IN A POPULATION OF 770 MILLION, THERE WILL BE ABOUT 1.4 BILLION PEOPLE STRUGGLING FOR SURVIVAL. CHINA, WHICH CURRENTLY MUST OFTEN IMPORT LARGE QUANTITIES OF GRAIN TO FEED 820 MILLION, MUST FIND FOOD FOR MORE THAN A BILLION TO ESCAPE MASS STRAVATION. INDONESIA, FACED WITH THE PROBLEM OF ACCOMMODATING OVER 230 MILLION BY THE YEAR 2000, WILL ENVY THE VAST OPEN SPACES OF NEIGHBORING AUSTRALIA, WHICH BY THAT TIME WILL SUSTAINING ONLY ABOUT 20 MILLION. BRAZIL, WITH OVER 200 MILLION AT THE END OF LIMITED OFFICIAL USE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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THE CENTURY, WILL TOWER OVER ITS NEIGHBORS ARGENTINA, CHILE AND URUGUAY, WHOSE COMBINED POPULATIONS TOTAL ONLY ABOUT A FOURTH OF BRAZIL'S. SOME 3 MILLION ISRAELIS ARE TODAY ENCIRCLED BY 70 MILLION HOSTILE NEIGHBORS WHO WILL DOUBLE IN NUMBER BY THE YEAR 2000, WHILE ISRAEL ADDS PERHAPS 2 MILLION. MEXICAN "WETBACKS" NOW POUR ILLEGALLY INTO OUR SOUTHWESTERN STATES AT AN ANNUAL RATE BELIEVED TO BE OVER 800,000.

WHAT WILL BE THE EXTENT OF THE INVASION AT THE END OF THE CENTURY, WHEN THE POPULATION OF MEXICO WILL HAVE NEARLY DOUBLED, OR BY 2025 WHEN IT MAY APPROXIMATE THAT OF THE UNITED STATES?

SUCH CONSIDERATIONS JUSTIFY A CONVICTION THAT POPULATION GROWTH AND POPULATION-RELATED PROBLEMS WILL BE A DOMINANT, PERNICIOUS FACTOR IN THE FUTURE DEVELOPMENT OF NATIONS AND THEIR RELATIONS WITH ONE ANOTHER. THE CONSEQUENCES WILL ENDANGER NOT JUST AMERICAN SECURITY BUT THAT OF THE WORLD COMMUNITY." (END OF QUOTE FROM TAYLOR).

OUR OWN INTERDEPENDENCE WITH THE REST OF THE WORLD IS RELECTED IN THE ADJACENT BOX WHICH LISTS 35 STRATEGIC MATERIALS WE MUST IMPORT TO MAINTAIN OUR OWN PHYSICAL SURVIVAL...MANY OF THESE IMPORTS COME FROM COUNTRIES WHICH ARE NOT CLOSE ALLIES -- AND LIKE AFRICA FOR INSTANCE,WHERE OUR DIPLOMATIC TRACK RECORD IS ABYSMAL. WE HAVE BEEN UNABLE, FOR EXAMPLE, TO COME TO ANY SORT OF EASY OR COMFORTABLE TERMS WITH THE RAW MATERIAL-PRODUCING COUNTRIES SOUTH OF THE INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACIES...(BRAZIL IS THEN SHOWN AS ONE OF MAJOR SUPPLIERS OF MANGANESE, TANTALUM, IRON AND BERYLLIUM -- AMONG 17 LISTED MINERALS).TRADE FUEL, AND A WHOLE RANGE OF INTERCOURSE WITH MANY NATIONS ARE ESSENTIAL TO THE ECONOMIC SURVIVAL OF OUR COUNTRY. ONE CANNOT VISUALIZE THE PROSPECTS FOR PEACE BEING ENHANCED BY OUR GROWING VULNERABILITY TO LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
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RAW MATERIALS CARTELS. IT WILL TAKE ENERGETIC AND IMAGINATIVE DIPLOMACY -- ADEQUATELY SUPPORTED BY A CREDIBLE DEFENSE -- TO GUIDE US THROUGH THIS HIGHLY INTRICATE AND DELICATE AREA. (EXTENSIVE DISCUSSION OF NATO, TERRORISM AND SITUATIONS IN MID EAST, AFRICA AND FAR EAST OMITTED HERE.)

"...WHEN WE LOOK AT HOW MUCH DEFENSE WE NEED -- WE ALSO HAVE TO LOOK AT WHAT KIND, ESPECIALLY IN THESE DAYS OF STRATEGIC NUCLEAR EQUIVALENCE. WITHOUT GETTING BOGGED DOWN IN AN UNFRUITFUL NUMBERS GAME, MOST THOUGHTFUL OBSERVERS AGREE THAT GIVEN THE PRESENT STRATEGIC NUCLEAR ARSENALS OF THE SOVIET UNION AND THE UNITED STATES, THE LEAST LIKELY FORM OF CONFLICT IN THE IMMEDIATE FUTURE WOULD BE A MAJOR NUCLEAR WAR. THIS WILL CONTINUE TO BE TRUE SO LONG AS OUR NUCLEAR ARSENAL REMAINS VIABLE, MODERN AND CREDIBLE. THIS IS ONE AREA WHERE OUR INVESTMENTS IN STRATEGIC WEAPONRY -- ALTHOUGH COSTLY -- HAVE PROVIDED INSURANCE THAT ALL CAN UNDERSTAND AND FOR WHICH MOST ARE WILLING TO PAY. OF GREATER CONCERN IS THE GROWING LIST OF COUNTRIES DEVELOPING A NUCLEAR CAPABILITY. THEY, ESPECIALLY, HAVE TO BELIEVE OUR STRATEGIC ARSENAL IS CREDIBLE AS WELL AS THE SOVIETS. (REPORT THEN GOES ON TO ADDRESS NEED FOR CONVENTIONAL WARFARE CAPABILITY.)

(PAPER CONCLUDES BY STRESSING AGAIN IMPORTANCE OF MILITARY STRENGTH TO SUCCESSFUL PURSUIT OF BROAD RANGE OF NATIONAL INTERESTS AND HAS FINAL QUOTE FROM BROOKINGS STUDY) "... OUR REMOTE AND IDEAL OBJECTIVE IS TO ACHIEVE A COMMUNITY OF DEVELOPED NATIONS IN WHICH WESTERN EUROPE, JAPAN AND THE UNITED STATES WILL ARRANGE THEIR DEFENSES TO DETER WAR IN THE MAIN AREAS OF POLITICAL CONFRONTATION, WILL HARMONIZE THEIR POLITICAL POLICIES TO LESSEN THE PROSPECT

OF CONFLICT AND PROLIFERATION, AND WILL COORDINATE THEIR
ECONOMIC POLICIES TO PROMOTE STEADY NONINFLATIONARY
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GROWTH IN THE INDUSTRIALIZED WORLD AND IMPROVE ECONOMIC
OPPORTUNITIES FOR DEVELOPING COUNTRIES. IT SHOULD BE OUR
PURPOSE TO SEE THE SOVIET UNION, THE EASTERN EUROPEAN
COUNTRIES, AND MANY DEVELOPING NATIONS EVENTUALLY DRAWN
INTO THIS COMMUNITY'S CONSTRUCTIVE BUSINESS." END QUOTE.

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